1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

The Dean River is called *Nulɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslimx*. About eighty years ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

*(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Täl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Täl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ɬstämɣ*[18] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

[18] To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ɬ has not been used.

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side 342 nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any- [261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[9] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

[9]Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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361

PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

The site of *Gyaqo-ts*, with the remains of the old village

[P 186 (A)]

PLATE 13

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Five-peaked house representing Mount *Nusdalst*

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[7 18 (E)]

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424

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424

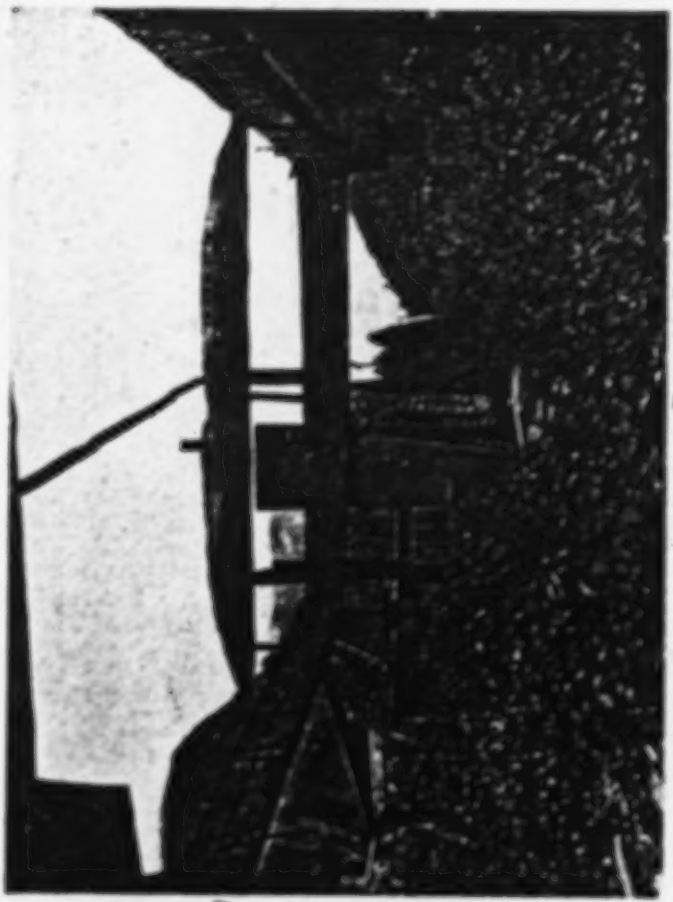

PLATE 14

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Framework of an old house, displaying the owner's prerogative of spindle indentations in the front posts

[7 186 (F)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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335 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice
* 556 to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are
342 peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occur-
424 rence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously
* 556 guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right
[773] to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nasqalst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Q̇eil* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 ● 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the workers." 336 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the beavers are *naked*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 552* [575]

[1] [or to build a new house for a potlatch. —Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEÄ Bellacoola NEÄ

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532
535
575

PLATE 14

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle dance being blown over a council flame

[facing P219]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[c]	40.00

An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 231). This is known as *lisdjat*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[a] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b] Four men would work together on this task.

[c] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine" as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

"This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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PLATE 24

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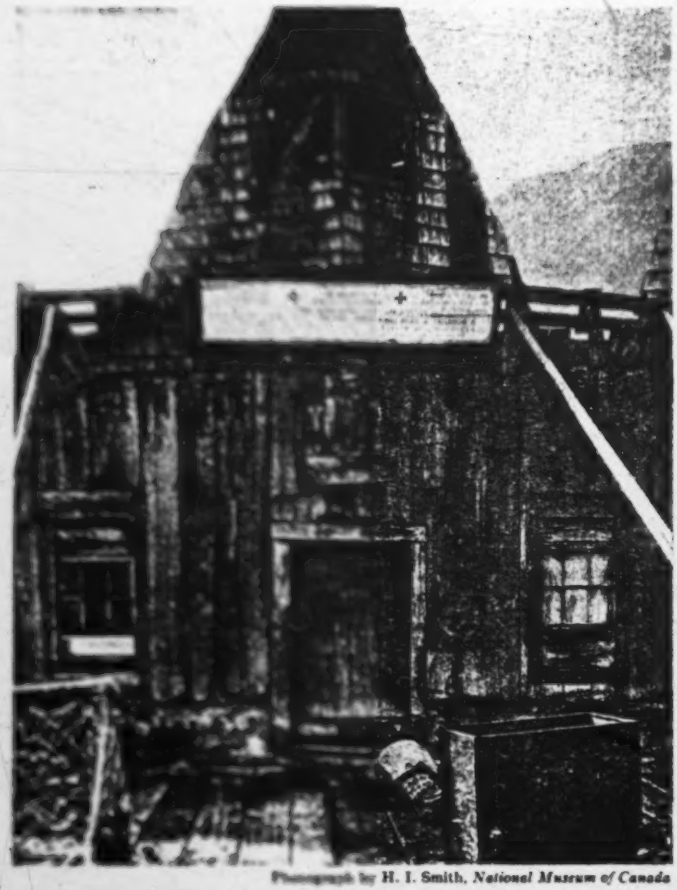

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[P 442 (H)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 3

575*
796*
142
342
292
791

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Siki producing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 5

575*
196*
142
342
292
787

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Cannibal with incubus in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 13

142
291
302
342
516

Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 16

142
291
302
342

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 17

142
291
302
342

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[625] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
●342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

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192*

Anudkānuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ānukāldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ānukae-lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Anukalulslaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
anukihlk'ɪs: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Anukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
anukitsk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kānān·i* dance.
Anukkalsnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anukpamaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anulkɪtl: Nose-ring. [301]
anultnānk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ānulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Anumntskmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ānunitsktmm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *T̈litcāplilān·a.*
ānunuqum: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
anuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
anupospsam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Anuputsadilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
anuqpatlnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Anuqpmlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sātlia.*
Anuqplalaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
anuqunusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Anuqwatnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *sɔiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *sɔiutl.*
Anusaikɔaixɔaix·ālɪs: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Anu·shuxātlmm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anuska'alxākmm: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *sɔaok* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ānuskiukmm, "The Saviour": One of *T̈litcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ānuskumetlm: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
ānuskxamnuq: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Anuspumm·aix: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Anusq: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anuspaixotsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlaxnk*, q.v. [198]
Ānuxyalaix: One of the first women to settle at *Slskiul* in the beginning of time.
Anutcklāmdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ānutxa: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests. [342]
2—Village at Kwatna.

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Nukapuntam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukatco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nuɬaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukɔlomskɛ': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

Nukiadji: Ancestral name of a *Stuɬx* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

nukila·xta: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukils, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nuliɬxmutl di mnk', "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalnmtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noakɣmm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuleɣm: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nulidiqolánk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixwmankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.

nulmkmánkdăs: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmăkdăs: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmkmánkdăs.*

nulmăɣtmax: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulolostnik·osta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *ɬɬaok* head-dress.

nulɬ: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalaɬit* or *ɬɬiutl.*

Nulqánlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqwtăɬs: House-posts nearest to front door.

nultnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

nulismămmtnum, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

nulxodjim: Cry uttered by a *ɬɬaok* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *ɬɬaok* novices.

nulxlnqailaix: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *ɬɬaok* novice.

nulxwălkăls: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numălkăls: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Număm·ut, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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Tuqwalaisla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Tuxukl:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

Ixli: Dog salmon.

Tsxallimx, "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Necleetaconnay River.

tsqunqun·i: Owl.

[601] *ixai:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Tcakwaaku: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.

Tcakwak: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

tcakwalotl: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *tcakwlixa:* White slug with black and red face.

[824] *tcalcalaksm:* Pleasure walk.

tcalt": Cedar-bark.

[411] *tca·n:* Sealing spear.

[825] *ixan:* Snake.

Tcaqolekx': Mountain near the Dean River.

Tcaqos: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *tcaxtsaolp:* Red cedar tree.

Tcawat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, *probably* Knight Inlet.

tcaxwanat·aia: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tcaxwap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tcixa:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tcixa: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

[825] *Tciknutl:* One of the first men to settle at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.

tciman·i: Large clam-shell.

Tcimlaix: Sisaok name of a *Sinxl* man.

Tcindlax: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcipix: Fisher.

[601] *Tcitomdzlaix*, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

tci gnes di emix: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tci gnes di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tcixwotl: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tcixsa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tcal'laiyu, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcmulk: Valley.

Tcmoil, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tcmquk: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tcnisi:* Mountain in the Carrier country.

Icnkcuwtalp: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tcnkcuwtalpa·ts, "Where There Is Much *Icnkcuwtalp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

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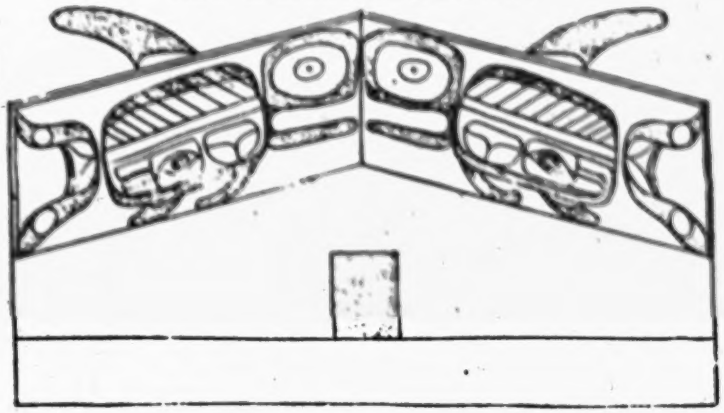
614 582 [551] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nusk'ila'sta (=cold water in face), a member of the Ialo'stimôt gens, whether he might marry a Spatsá'ilt woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

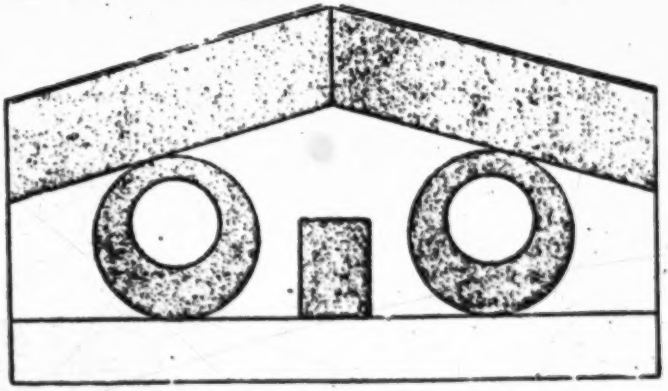
FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tsk'oá'la.



[342] [532]

Members of the first two gentes, be explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens T'ak'aumô'ot, representing the moon.



[342] [532]

this by stating that Ialo'stimôt's son married Spatsá'ilt's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

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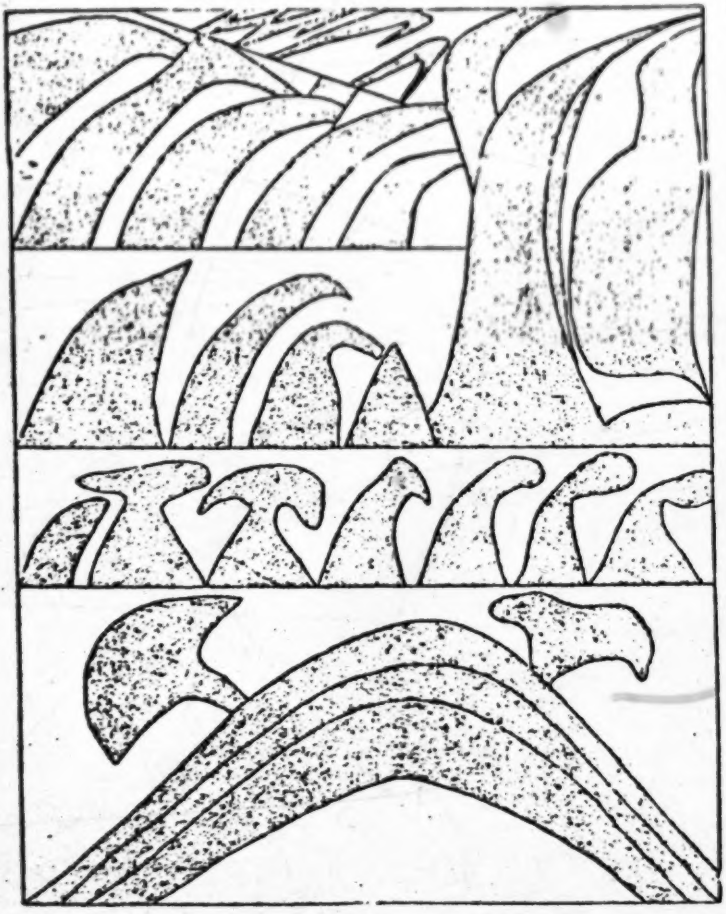
tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gens Tōk·oā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'ĸn, showing the mountain Suwā'ĸnn, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k'ŭ'sats*), of the crow, and of the black bear.

The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnxstaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·anmō'ot of the Nusk·'ĸ'lstemh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mh use the raven, robin (*sisi'a'qmē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ăutlala* (genus?), and *s'alsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nuxq'mis* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'ĸ'l has the name Smō'xa (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'khh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlōla'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ĕk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsiōa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsiōa.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Dkeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxa'lk used the subterranean lodge which is called to'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nuxq'a'lst used the skin lodge which is called skume (see p. 64).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smai'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ö'mq'omkilik·a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of